

2569

A

VINDICATION
OF
His MAJESTY's
TITLE to the CROWN,

As being the *Heir* that is *qualified* to enjoy it.

SHEWING,

That no one can be *legally* qualified to be *King of England* that is not capable of preserving the *Constitution of England*; that no *Papist* is capable of doing it, and that neither the *Pretender*, nor any of his Family can give us any *reasonable Assurance* of their being *Protestants*.

WITH

A particular Application to those who have *no Religion*, in order to convince them that it is *their Interest* to keep out a *Popish Prince*.

By W. WEBSTER, D. D.
Vicar of Ware and Thundridge in Hertfordshire.

LONDON:

Printed for JOHN CLARKE under the *Royal Exchange*,
Cornhill. MDCCXLVII.

A
INDICATION
to
THE MATELY
TITLE to the CROWN
of England, & the
Sovereignty of the
King.



THE MATELY
TITLE to the CROWN
of England, & the
Sovereignty of the
King.

WITH

A PRACTICAL Application to Those who have no Title
to the Crown, in Order to Convey the same, that it
may be held and enjoyed by a Person.

By W. WEBSTER, A.D.
New & Wm. Tandy, 10, Pall Mall, London.

London:
Printed for J. & C. Rivington, & Son, 1822.
Crown, MDCCLXII.

P R E F A C E.

WHEN I gave Notice that this Pamphlet was in the Press, it occasioned a trifling Advertisement, in the Daily Advertiser, of a Book which, I dare say, is never intended to be published. Be that as it will. I am only concerned in what he says concerning the Usefulness of my Argument. As absurd a Doctrine as indefeasible HEREDITARY RIGHT is, it is held by the Nonjurors, and other Jacobites, and was made the Basis of the Rebellion. Wherefore, I could not help thinking that it might be of great Use to shew that, supposing the Pretender to be the legitimate Son of King James the Second, he is not capable of inheriting the Crown of England, as being incapable of preserving our Constitution, and governing according to the Laws of the Land. This is a plain, easy Point, of which any one may judge, as it requires no Learning, and is disengaged from the Intricacies that have attended the Controversies on this Subject. I have been so far from attempting to depreciate any other Arguments,

ments, that I have acknowledged the Force of them. The King's Parliamentary Title is quite clear to my Apprehension; and so is That which is founded upon a quiet Possession, of considerable standing; but, if, with Safety to those Arguments, we can use any other that are better calculated for the Principles which the Jacobites maintain, there is some room to hope for a good Effect, without a Possibility of doing any Hurt. As our Government is Hereditary, and as the Jacobites go upon the Legitimacy of the Pretender's BIRTH, it is impossible to confute them, by any other Arguments than such as prove him incapable of Inheriting, notwithstanding his supposed Legitimacy. This, I think, I have done; and taken Occasion to say some seasonable Things that may be of Use to the Publick. My Intention, I am sure, is honest; and I doubt not of it's being kindly accepted by those who wish well to the Government and the Nation. As to the rest, their Resentments will do me Credit.

A. V. IN.

s. A

[a]

and oT
beats
A
VINDICATION
OF
His MAJESTY'S Title

TO THE

CROWN, &c.

IN a Time of common Danger it is the Duty and Interest of every Member of the Community, in his Station, and according to his Ability, to contribute towards its Preservation. While we were engaged in War with two very powerful Nations *Abroad*, the divine Vengeance thought fit to visit us with a *Rebellion at Home*, that threatened Destruction to every Thing that is valuable to us. According to the Duty of my Station I endeavoured to excite my People to a

B zealous

zealous *Defence* of ourselves, especially against our *domestick* Enemies. To this Purpose, as the most effectual Method that I could think of, I shewed them what must be the Consequence, upon our *Religious* and *Civil* Rights, if the *Rebellion* met with Succes; and this I did by setting forth the *Principles* and *Practices* of the *Papists*, in the *Establishment* and *Propagation* of their *Religion*; which being always the same, we have no manner of Reason to think but that they will always operate in the same manner, and that a *Popish* Prince will ever act agreeably to the *Principles* of his *Religion*. My Sermon was so well approved by the most judicious Part of my Audience, that I was encouraged, by its Succes, and the Advice of some Friends, to print it; and I have had the Pleasure to find it as well received by the *Publick*, as it was by my *Congregation*; and several well disposed Persons contributed towards the Circulation of it in

in the most infected Parts of the Country. If it has done any Good, to the *Original Author*, the *Supreme Agent*, in whose Hands we are but *Instruments*, be ascribed the *Glory*, while I enjoy the Happiness of being so honourably and agreeably employed. It has pleased God, since, to give Success to our Arms. The *Rebellion* was, in a very surprising manner, suppressed, almost, at one Blow. But the *Danger* is not over. Our powerful and invertebrate Enemies and Neighbours, the *French*, vigilant and active in forming Schemes for our Destruction, are always meditating Attempts in Favour of the *Pretender*; and we have Reason to fear, that a great many of our *infatuated Fellow-Subjects* would, again, be ready to join them. The *Rebels* are conquer'd and disarmed, but the *rebellious Spirit* is, still, *unsubdued*. Their *Principles* and *Inclinations* are as *rebellious* as ever, and want nothing but a fresh Opportunity of

shewing themselves. There are not a great many *open Nonjurors*; and, as to any *latent* ones, who quietly and secretly enjoy their unhappy Opinions, without ever attempting to disturb the Government, it would be a needless Act of *Severity*, not to say, *Cruelty*, to molest them in their innocent and inoffensive Obscurity, while, perhaps, they are sincerely wishing, and piously praying for, the Safety of the Government, tho' they have some Scruples concerning the *Abjuration Oath*. But there is Reason to fear, that we have many Enemies among us, much more dangerous than any of the *Nonjurors*, because they are *Enemies* under the Disguise of *Friends*; I mean, *Swearing Jacobites*: And this, not only of the *middle* and *lower* Sort, but, likewise, of the *higher Rank*; Men of *Education* and *Fortune*; Men in Stations of *Trust* and *Dignity*. It is so great a Pleasure to me, to think well of Mankind, that it is with Difficulty
-well. and

and Reluctance that I part with my good Opinion of them. Properly speaking, I never *part* with it, because I always keep it till it is *forceably extorted* from me. Here, therefore, I dare not presume to form a *determinate Judgment*, for want of *positive Evidence*, some *direct* and *plain Declaration* of their Sentiments and Dispositions, to support it; (tho' it is not a very uncommon thing to meet with some who have so little *Discretion* as not to make a *Secret* of their *Disaffection*, and so little *Manners*, as frankly to own it to such as they have all imaginable Reason to believe to be firm Friends to the present Government;) but there is so good a Foundation for a strong *Suspicion*, from accumulated Circumstances, that they have no Right to accuse us of *Rigour*, if we look upon them with a *jealous Eye*, and guard against them with a *prudent Vigilance*. In Vindication of my Suspicion I shall mention some Circumstances that I do

not take from *uncertain Report*, but from my own *Observation* and *Knowledge*. In the Time of the *Rebellion*, these People were always ready to lend the most greedy Ear to Reports of any Advantages gained by the *Rebels* over his *Majesty's Forces*, and as forward to propagate them, while they were as backward to give Credit to any Circumstance in our Favour. With what Pleasure did they magnify the *Numbers* and *Strength* of the *Enemy*, beyond all Measure, at the same Time as unreasonably depreting our own *Army*? A *Royalist* was *nothing* in the Hands of an *Highlander*; like *Saul* and *Jonathan*, they were, all, *swifter than Eagles, they were stronger than Lions*. Now, had this been the true State of the Forces on both Sides, a *well affected Person* would have been *sorry to hear it, unwilling to believe it, more unwilling, still, to publish it, lest, by intimidating, it should weaken our real Strength, and affect publick Credit.*

dit. I appeal to universal Experience for the Truth of this Observation. If we examine their Conduct at the *first breaking out* of the Rebellion, when the Nation, in all Parts of it, *affiliated*, and solicited *Subscriptions* for raising Forces, we shall find them acting uniformly, like Persons who *secretly* wished *Success* to the Enemy. They were very angry with *all Associations*, and declared them contrary to *Law*. They were angry, very angry with those who shewed the warmest Zeal and Activity in forwarding *Subscriptions*, and represented them as *Time Servers* and *ministerial Creatures*. Even such a little, obscure Person as the *Vicar of Ware*, could not escape their Resentment, for his honest Industry at that important Time of universal Danger, but (as I am credibly informed) he lost a very good Preferment on that Account. Supposing these Men to be *Friends* to the Government, I ask, whether this Conduct were *natural* ; but,

but, suppose them to be *Well-wishers* to the Cause of the *Pretender*, they acted suitably to their *Principles* and *Inclinations*. And if Persons in *low Life*, and moving within a *narrow Sphere*, incurred so high a Degree of their *Displeasure*, for endeavouring to disappoint their *Scheme*, no Wonder that they are outrageously inveterate against those whose *Dignity*, *Affluence*, *Popularity*, and *Situation*, gave their *Industry* and *Zeal* a more extensive *Influence*, and enabled them to deserve still better of their *King* and *Country*, by being so greatly instrumental in saving us from *Ruin*. But if these *un-natural Resentments* were not, what they must appear to *Common Sense* to be, the Result of *Disaffection* to the *Government*, *Prudence*, as well as *Justice*, will make them cautious how they go on to fix an *Infamy* upon their *own Character*, by circulating *Calumnies* and *Reproaches*, where the *highest Applause*, and the *warmest Thanks*

Thanks are due ; to *oppose*, and labour to *destroy* the Influence of those who have made no other Use of their *Popularity*, than as an Instrument of publick and private Good. I am willing to *hope*, that they will shew, by their future Behaviour, that they have acted thus *unnaturally*, rather from the Impulse of an inconsiderate Rashness, and Party Spleen, than from the sober Dictates of a settled Dislike to our *Establishment*, or an Inclination to subvert the *present Government*. As to those *Monsters* (and such, to my Knowledge, there are) of *Impiety*, *Treachery*, and *Hypocrisy*, who take *Oaths* to the Government, while they are *persuaded* that the *King* has no Right to the Crown, and wish to see him *dethroned*, it is hardly possible for an *honest* Mind to think of them without Horror, or to speak of them with any Temper. *Perjury* is the most *daring Impiety* that human Nature is capable of committing. It is a Denial of God's *Omni-science*,

; 2 Janvry

niscience, or a Defiance of his Power.
To live in it *deliberately*, for Years together, is giving this shocking Crime the highest *Aggravation* that any Sin is capable of receiving. Every *generous* Person detests a *Lye*, as a mean and infamous Vice, tho' told in *private*; but these Men, in a *publick* manner, with all the Solemnity imaginable, attest a *Falshood*. In how *ignominious* a Light do we look upon a Man who professes *Friendship* while he is an *Enemy* in his Heart? and yet a *swearing Jacobite* is this *false Friend*, with this only Difference, that his *Hypocrify* is as much greater as he professes *Friendship* in a stronger and more solemn manner. And, yet, while they are living *habitually* in the Practice of so *irreligious* and *immoral* a Crime, they would think themselves greatly affronted should any one suspect their *Faith*, or their *Honesty*. I recommend them to the *Grace* of God for their *Conversion*, and to his infinite *Mercy* for *Forgiveness*;

giveness ; and, as a farther Instance of my *Charity*, I shall endeavour to convince them, that his *Majesty* has a just Title to their Obedience ; by which means, if I succeed, I shall enable them to enjoy all the Privileges of an *English Subject*, without wounding their Conscience, and forfeiting their Title to the future Privileges of a good *Christian*. ^{bo} As to the *Nonjurors*, especially the *Clergy*, who have ruined themselves and their Families for the Sake of their *Conscience*, they deserve all the Compassion and Indulgence that is consistent with the Safety of the State ; and if there were any Room to hope, that these Papers might become *instrumental* towards the Conversion of but *one* of those unfortunate Persons, the Satisfaction would be more than a sufficient Recompence for the Trouble of writing them : But the Force of Prejudice and Prepossession, together with the *Pride* of human Nature, which makes

makes them unwilling to think, much more publickly to acknowledge, that they have so long entertained an *Error*, is a very strong Bias upon the Judgment. However, they would do well to consider, how many strong Motives they have to induce them to weigh the Argument with all imaginable *Impartiality*. If his *Majesty* has a good Title to their Obedience, they do him an *Injury* by withholding it. By rendering themselves incapable of exercising their *Ministerial Function*, they deprive the Church and State of the beneficial Influence of their Learning and Parts. By keeping themselves out of all *Preferment*, they deprive their Wives and Children of the Comforts, and even Necessaries of Life, and expose them to Distresses of all Sorts. These are Considerations very affecting to the Tenderness of an *Husband* and a *Parent*, and, though not any Reason for acting *against* their Conscience, a very powerful Argument

ment for the utmost Care that their Conscience may be *rightly informed*. At the Time of the *Revolution* there were Difficulties that might stagger a *conscientious*, though *judicious* Man; but as the Case *now* stands, I profess seriously, it appears to me as clear and obvious a Point as any plain *moral* Duty; and I hope, in *very few Words*, to make it appear so to the Reader. It has been objected to this Undertaking, that the *Subject* is *already exhausted*. I will allow, that there are a *great many*, and *very large* Books written upon it, and such as require a considerable Share of *Learning* and *Judgment* to understand them. But this, in my opinion, is a *very good Reason* for the Expediency of publishing a short, concise Argument, that is more likely to be read, better adapted to common Capacities, and less embarrassed with *political Subtilties*. The Light, in which I purpose to place the Argument, I apprehend

to

to be thus clear. The Force of it lies in a little Compass, and such as any one, that is at all capable of judging, may understand. I mean not to insinuate, that the Arguments, which other Writers have used, are not satisfactory; but only to offer an additional one, that may, in some Respects, be better calculated for the present State of Affairs, as well as less liable to *controversial Cavils*. — By way of Introduction, I shall just mention the *other Schemes*.

The common one is, “ the Decision of the *States of the Realm* at the *Revolution*; who, in all Cases, where there is any Dispute concerning the Person to whom the Obedience of the Subject is due, are the *only Judges* that can decide the *Controversy*. ”

The second is, quiet Possession. And what that is, Dean *Sherlock*, in his *Case of Allegiance*, has well expressed in the following Words. “ When the

" the whole Administration of Go-
 " vernment, and the whole Power of
 " the Nation is in the Hands of the
 " Prince ; when every Thing is done
 " in his Name, and by his Authori-
 " ty ; when the Estates of the Realm
 " and the great Body of the Nation
 " have submitted to him," &c. In
 Support of this Scheme we have an
Act of Parliament, now in Force, that
 was made in *Henry the seventh's Time*,
 and made for this very Purpose, in
 Ease of the Consciences of the Sub-
 jects, in Case of *litigated Titles*. This
 Act makes it lawful to take *Oaths* to
 a King in *Possession*, without enquir-
 ing into any *prior Right*. And it is
 farther very pertinently urged in Fa-
 vour of this Scheme, that if *quiet Pos-*
session does not constitute a *lawful*
 King, it is impossible for the Sub-
 jects in general to tell whom they
 ought to obey. Any one can tell
 who is in *Possession* of the Crown, but
 not one in Five thousand are compe-

tent Judges of a *political Controversy*. To this it is added, that the *Scripture* prescribes Obedience to such Kings, to Kings *in Possession*, to the *Powers that be*, without concerning itself with any *other Title* to Obedience. And I will add another Consideration, which, *alone*, would determine *my Conduct*, and fully satisfy my Conscience. I mean, the *Length of Time* that the *present Government*, in the *Protestant Line*, have been in *Possession*. It is now between fifty and sixty Years old ; and if such a *long Settlement* will not constitute a *lawful Government*, and exclude all *other Claimants*, Societies are liable to *infinite Confusion*. GOVERNMENT is intended for the Good of the *Community*, and not of a *particular Person*, or *Family* ; and if King *James* and his *Son* had ever so much Wrong done them at the *Revolution*, it is better that they should sit down quiet under the *Injury*, than that three Kingdoms, consisting of Persons who had

no Hand at all in the Injury, should be thrown into the utmost Disorder for the sake of doing them *Justice*. Why should not a *King* be as much obliged, in Conscience, to sacrifice his *private* to a *publick* Interest, as well as a *Subject*? Why should not *THEIR Equity of Redemption* be foreclosed, as well as *ours*? and for the same Reason, because the *Peace* and *Order* of the Community makes it necessary. If *Inheritances*, and *purchased Estates*, of sixty Years standing, were to be set aside, it would make Titles too precarious, and breed *Confusion*, and the Argument holds much stronger in respect to Titles to a *Crown*.

Before I quit this Head, I must mention an Observation that I have often made. Many of the *Nonjurors*, with whom I have been acquainted, would have made no Scruple to take the Oath of *Allegiance*. I have considered this Case, and never could see a good Reason why a Man, who can

C swear

swear *Allegiance*, might not as well abjure any other Person. *Allegiance* absolutely implies so much, in my Idea of the Matter. If he has not a *just Title* to my *Allegiance*, I ought not to give it him ; and if he has a *just Title*, no other Prince *can* have, or *ought* to have a Title to it at the same Time.

Dean *Sherlock* so far agrees with this Scheme, that he maintains *Allegiance* to be due to Princes *in Possession*, but then he does not derive their Right from any *Act of Parliament*, or from the *Nature of Society and Government*, but from a *direct Act of Divine Providence* appointing him King. He supposes all *Revolutions* to be brought about, not by the *Permission* only, but *Agency* of God ; and that, consequently, the People ought to submit to such Rulers, as being placed upon the Throne by the *Great Governour* of the *whole World*, who has a *Right* to their Submission. I shall make but one

Obser-

Observation upon the *Dean's Scheme*, which is this; that the *Revolution* in our Kingdom was brought about in such a manner, as shewed the *directing* and *over-ruling* Hand of *Providence*, as much as the Circumstances of any publick Event can well do.

But I shall now shew, that his *Majesty* has not only a *De Facto*, and a *Parliamentary*, but as good an *Hereditary* Right to the Crown of *England*, as a Man can have to any thing by *Inheritance*; which Right does not in the least depend upon the *Justifiableness* of the *Revolution*, or the *Authority* of the *States of the Realm* at that Time, because it arises from the *Constituiton*, as it stood before the *Revolution*.

Suppose the Crown of *England* were, as it is now, *Hereditary*, but the King *absolute*, the next Person in the *Succession* might be incapable of *inheriting*, either thro' a *natural*, or a *moral* *Inability* to *govern*; and if the

whole Family were under the same *Incapacity*, the Nation would have a Right to settle the Crown upon some other Family. Will any one affirm, that an *Idiot*, or *Madman*, is capable of *ruling* and *governing* a *Nation*, when he is not able to govern *himself*? and therefore such a one is *excluded* upon the same Principle that the Law takes away an *Estate* from one who neither is, nor ever can be, in a Capacity of making use of it, and gives it to the next Heir. And, yet, this *natural Incapacity* for Government is not so strong as a *moral one*. A *Fool* may have wise Men about him to govern *for* him, but if a Person holds any *Opinions* which instruct him, or has any *Dispositions* which prompt him, to pervert the *general Ends* of Government, and, instead of promoting the *Good* of his People, should take Pleasure, as some of the *Cæsars* did, in *destroying* them; Government, in such tyrannical Hands, becomes a *Curse*,
and
stodus

and not a *Blessing*, and the eternal Law of *Self-Preservation*, not only justifies a Nation in *excluding*, or *ejecting*, such an *unqualified Person*, but *obliges* them, in Point of *Duty*, to do it. *Government* is so necessary to the Good of Mankind that it is better than *Anarchy*, or *perpetual Changes*, tho' it be *very badly* administred; for which Reason, while the *Body* of the People, upon the *whole*, receive more Advantage than Detriment, the greatest Grievances ought patiently to be born. But, when the *great Ends* of *all Government*, that is, the *general Welfare* of the *Community*, are defeated, all Obligations of *Duty*, to such a *Governour*, cease.

And, as a Person may be under a *natural*, or *moral Incapacity* for *Government*, by not being able to answer the *general Ends* of it; so, where there is a *particular Constitution*, whoever is *incapable* of governing *agreeably* to that *Constitution*, is *unqualified* to en-

joy the *Crown*, it being the *plainest Absurdity* to suppose, that any Constitution should give any one a Power to *destroy itself*. The Crown of *England* is a *limited Monarchy*, and consequently, whoever is *obliged*, by his *Principles*, to endeavour to make himself *absolute*, is *incapable* of answering the *Ends* of that Constitution, and ought to be *excluded* as an *unqualified Person*; or, if in *Possession*, he may lawfully be *opposed* in any such Attempt. By the *Constitution* of *England* the *Subjects* have *Rights* and *Privileges*, founded upon the *same Law* which gives the *King* a Right to the *Crown*; and, as no *Subject* can be intitled to those Rights and Privileges if he calls in Question his *Majesty's Title* to the *Crown*, or the *Prerogatives* belonging to it, or refuses to give the required *Tests* of his *Affection*, for the same Reason no one can have a Title to *govern a free People*, who thinks it his *Duty* to take away their *Freedom*; for,

for, otherwise, there is no Difference between a *limited* and an *absolute* Prince, or between a *free* People and *Slaves*. As the former loses all the Privileges of an *English Subject*, by a known *Disaffection* to the *King* and the *Constitution*, so the *King*, by *forceably* attempting to deprive his Subjects of their *natural* and *legal* Rights, forfeits his Right to the *Crown*, as King *James* did. As the former may be guilty of *Treason* against their *Prince*, I will not say, that the latter may be guilty of *Treason* against the *People*, but he may *forfeit* his *Title*, by attempting to take away the *Life* of that *Constitution* from whence he derives all his *Authority*. I am so far from having a Suspicion that his *Majesty* will be in the least offended at the *Freedom* of my Doctrine and *Language*, that I am persuaded, he will rather be pleased to find his Subjects so thoroughly convinced that he always did, and always will, govern us

agreeably to the Laws of our Country ; and, I hope in God, that he will *long* govern us. From this Reasoning it will appear, that his present Majesty, King **G E O R G E**, has an indisputable Title to the *Crown of England*, as he is the *next Heir* who is *legally qualified* to enjoy it, by being the next that is qualified to *preserve the Constitution* ; or, in other Words, the next in the *Protestant Line*, no *Papist* being capable of doing it. In this I speak the Sentiments of that great Man, **L o r d Chancellor Cowper**, who, in his Speech at the Trial of the *Rebel Lord Winton*, has these remarkable Words ;

“ It is a farther Aggravation of your
 “ Crime, that his Majesty, whom
 “ your Lordship would have dethron-
 “ ed, attempted not the Crown by
 “ Force, or by Arts of Ambition, but
 “ succeeded peaceably and legally to
 “ it ; and on the Decease of her late
 “ Majesty, without Issue, became un-
 “ doubtedly the next in Course of
 “ Descent,

+ 3

“ Descent, *capable* of succeeding to
 “ the Crown by the Law and Con-
 “ stitution of this Kingdom, as it
 “ stood declared some Years before
 “ the Crown was expressly limited
 “ to the House of *Hanover*. 180 3100

As we have the Happiness of being
 a *free* People, living under the best
 Constitution that *human* Wisdom can
 contrive, so one great Excellency of it
 is this, that, in respect to *our Freedom*,
 it can never be *rightfully* altered. It
 may sound strangely, to such as have
 not well weighed the Point, to assert,
 that the *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*
 have not a Power of altering it ; but,
 with the most reverential Regard to
 the *Legislature*, as a true, *freeborn*
 Englishman, I must be of Opinion,
 that they have no *Right* to do it, and
 that if any such Law should be made,
 it cannot be *binding* upon the *People*.
 The House of *Commons* are our *Repre-
 sentatives* in Parliament, but they are
 the Representatives of a *free People*.

They

They are *Trustees* for us, and it is implied in all *Trusts*, that a *Trustee* can have no *Right* to act in *direct Opposition* to the *primary Ends* of his *Trust*; and if he does, his *Acts* become *void* by the *Law of Reason* and *common Sense*, and would be pronounced *void* in the *Court of Chancery*. I shall explain myself by an *Instance*. Let a *Man* be appointed, in the strongest and most absolute *Terms* that can be used, a *Steward*, under *Hand and Seal*, for the *Management* of an *Estate*, if he does *not* manage with so much *Care* and *Prudence* as might have been expected, the *Sufferer* can have no *Remedy*; but if the *Steward*, instead of consulting the *Interest* of his *Principal*, should *designedly* *embezzle* the whole *Rent*, and *ruin* the *Estate*, a *Court of Equity* would *relieve* the *injured Principal* from such an apparently *intended Fraud*. The *Members*, as I said, are our *Trustees*, or *Stewards*, to act for our *Interest* in the *enacting*

ing proper Laws. If they should pass an Act that we have Reason to dislike, *Conscience*, as well as *Law*, requires us to submit to it; and we must wait for a Repeal, by chusing wiser and more faithful *Trustees* another Time; but, suppose they should pass a Law to make the *King ABSOLUTE*, to make the *Parliament perpetual*, and enable the House to chuse a Member upon every Vacancy, in short, totally to deprive us of our *Freedom*; surely, no one would be so absurd as to assert that such a Law would, in *Conscience*, be binding upon their *Constituents*. If he should, he *deserves* to lose his Freedom. It is to assert, that my *Representative* in Parliament has a Power, by Virtue of my Choice of him to represent me, to take away my Right of ever after *sending* a Representative to Parliament.

Having shewn, that no one can be qualified to enjoy the *Crown of England*, who is not capable of governing agreeably

agreeably to the *Laws* of our Country, and preserving to the *People* their *Rights* and *Privileges*, belonging to them by Virtue of the same Constitution which gives the *Crown* to the *King*, we are next to see how incapable a *Popish Prince* is, of governing a *Protestant People* agreeably to our *Constitution*: which Incapacity is so apparent, to any one that has the least Knowledge of the *Nature of Popery*, and the *Practice* of the *Papists* in the *Establishment* and *Propagation* of their Religion *, that I am suprized to find the *Nonjurors*, and other *pretended Friends* to the *Church* and *State*, so ready to flatter themselves, and persuade others, that, if the *Pretender* had gained the *Crown*, he would have protected the *Established Church*, and suffered us to enjoy our *Religious* and *Civil Rights*. The *Nonjurors* are too apt

* See my Sermon on *Popery*, sold by Mr. Brotherton, at the *Bible* in *Cornhill*, and Mr. *Davis*, by *Clifford's-Inn* in *Fetter-Lane*.

to insinuate, that the *Clergy* of the E-
stablished Church are induced to take
the *Oaths* by the Influence of *Prefer-
ment*, and that if it were not for that
Bias upon our Judgment, we should be
of their Opinion. When they are giv-
ing out such uncharitable Hints, they
should consider, with how much more
Reason we may suggest, that if some
worldly Views were out of their Sight,
they could not help seeing how impos-
sible it is that a *Popish Prince* should
govern a *Protestant People*, so as to
preserve to them their *natural and legal Rights*. It is almost a *self-evident Paradox*. As I intend nothing more
than to put these credulous, deluded
People, into a Way of thinking rightly
upon the Subject, I shall mention only
some of the *principal Points of Incon-
sistency*.

In the first place, how is it possible
for a *Popish Prince* to give any *Security*
to us, a *Protestant People*, for the *legal*
Exercise of his Authority? *And with-
out*

out giving proper Security, how could he be *crowned*? Some of the *Rebels*, in their *dying Speeches*, have lately told us, that their *Master* had *promised* fair; and, no doubt, he would have been as ready to take the *Coronation Oath*. But, what are the *Promises* and *Oaths* of *Papists* made to *Protestants*? Words without any *binding Force*. By the *Principles* of his *Religion* he would not only have been *discharged* from any *Obligation* to *perform* his *Promises*, and *keep* his *Oaths*, but he must have thought it his *Duty* to *break* them; and, if he had presumed to pay more *Regard* to the *Authority* of *Jesus Christ*, than to the *Commands* of his *Holiness* at *Rome*, he would soon have sat very uneasy and *insecure* upon his *Throne*. This single *Circumstance*, then, (his *Incapacity* to give his *Subjects* legal *Security* that he would *preserve* the *Constitution*, and *protect* them in the *Enjoyment* of their *Rights*) were there nothing else, would be a sufficient

sufficient *Disqualification*, and justify the Nation in *excluding* any such Person ; for, if the *Constitution* (which is equally a Rule to *King* and *People*) requires every one to give his *Majesty* Security for their *Loyalty* and *Obedience*, before they can enjoy any Place of *Power* or *Trust*, the same *Constitution* requires the *Prince*, as a *previous Qualification* for the Enjoyment of the *Crown*, to give his *Subject's* Security for the *legal Exercise* of his *Office*. A *Refusal*, or an *Incapacity*, to do this, is equally a *Disqualification* in both Cases : And the *Reason* for such Security is much stronger on the Side of the *Subject*, than the *Prince*, as the latter is vested with so much more *Power*, which he can employ to their *Prejudice*.

But, let us suppose this *Popish Prince* upon the *Throne*, and attend to some of the *Consequences*. We are always to expect that, unless Men be restrained by *Force*, or *prudential Considerations*, they

they will act agreeably to their *Principles*. A *Popish* Prince, therefore, especially one educated at *Rome*, and under Obligations to the *Pope*, would naturally acknowledge his *Supremacy*. This would overturn the *Ecclesiastical Constitution*, and very much affect the *State*. It would introduce a *foreign Power*, not only over the *Subjects*, but the *King*. However, to make such a King some Amends for this servile Subjection of his *Throne* to the *Papal Chair*, by his *dispensing Authority* he will cancel his Coronation Oath, and make him as *absolute* over his *own Subjects*, as he makes *himself* over all *Popish Princes*, that he may be the better able to *propagate* and *establish* the *Popish Religion* in these Kingdoms. This was the Case in King *James* the Second's Reign; and this must ever be the Case under *all Popish Kings*. He attempted to set aside the Laws of the *Land*, and substitute *his absolute Will* in the room of them: And this he did,

not in Consequence of any particular Disposition in his *Nature* to a *despotic* Power, but by the Direction and Influence of his *Religion*. *Popery* in the *Throne*, and *Slavery* in the *People*, are inseparably connected, wherever the Prince is unrestrained by *Protestant Neighbours*.

One of the first Acts of his *arbitrary Will* would be, to turn all *Protestants* out of *Offices* and *Places*, and put in *Papists*, (as fast as they could procure any such) whether *qualified*, or *unfit* for their *Posts*; or find out temporizing Tools among the *Protestants*, that would sacrifice their *Religion* to their present *Interest*. This is what all *Popish* Princes are *obliged* to do. It is *established* by one of their *Councils* that this must be done, within a certain limited Time, under the Penalty of an Ecclesiastical Sentence, that will make it lawful for any other Prince to invade and conquer his *Dominions*; which is, in some measure, an Answer to a shameful Observation

D of

of some of the *Jacobites*, viz. That the Experience of the Father's ill Success, in making *too much Haste*, would be a Lesson of *Caution* to the Son, and induce him, for some Time at least, to let Things go on pretty quietly : The Meaning of which *pious* and *humane* Observation is this ; that they care not what becomes of the *Protestant Religion* when they are dead, or what Misery they entail upon *Posterity*, if they can but make themselves easy during Life. But they would find themselves under a very great and fatal Mistake, as they might easily see by reading over Archbishop *King's* Account of the Behaviour of King *James the Second* in *Ireland*. That unfortunate Prince was a most flagrant Proof of the contrary ; and, likewise, how little a natural Sense of *Honesty* and *Humanity* signify, in Opposition to the Dictates of their *Religion*. In the Discharge of Offices the *Protestants* were cruelly injured and oppressed ; for, as there is no *Faith*, so there is

no

no *Justice, or Compassion*, due to *Heretics*. As it is so easy to acquire a competent Knowledge of the *Nature and Tendency of Popery*, of what has been, and is still, the Practice in all *Popish Countries*, and of what has been the Conduct of Queen *Mary*, and King *James*, in our *own Country*, it is Matter of just Wonder, that the *Jacobites* should be so careless as not to enquire, so blind as not to see, or so infatuated as not to regard the inevitable *Ruin* that the Success of the *Pretender* must have brought upon these Nations. But I have not yet set forth all the Consequences.

The Liberty of *private Judgment*, and of *professing* that Religion which we believe to be the true one, belongs to every Man, as far as the Profession of his Religion consists with the Safety and Peace of Civil Society. This is the most valuable Right that any one can enjoy, but such a one as a *Popish Prince* would be under the Necessity

of depriving us of, as soon as he possibly could; and not only so, but when he could get *Popery* to be the *established Religion*, (which likewise he *must* attempt) he would use the most cruel Methods of Compulsion, to force us into *Conformity*. All these, which I have enumerated, would be the unavoidable Consequences of having a *Popish Prince* upon the Throne. And, how can a Prince be *qualified* to govern a *Protestant People*, who is bound by the Laws of *his Religion* to destroy the *Protestant Religion*, and *forceably* to endeavour to make them all turn *Papists*? And, Are we not justified, by the *Constitution* of our *Country*, as well as by the Law of *Self-Preservation*, to keep all such Princes out? We have *Rights* as *Englishmen*, and it is as lawful for us to *defend* them, or *recover* them, if illegally deprived of them, as it is for the *King* to *defend* his *Crown*, or to endeavour to get himself *restored*, should his Subjects *dethrone*

dethrone him unlawfully. Both Rights stand upon the *same Bottom*; the *same Constitution*; and whoever denies to the *Subject* the *necessary Means* of preserving his *legal Privileges*, destroys the *Constitution*, and turns a *limited* into an *absolute Monarchy*. Several of the *Nonjurors* have told me that we have no Argument against the *Pretender's Right to the Crown*, besides his *Religion*, which, they say, *can be no Bar to his Claim*, which is founded upon his being the *next Heir*, and cannot be superceded by any Circumstance that is *foreign to it*. In the first place, we have other Arguments which they are not able to answer; but his *Religion* is a sufficient one, in a double Sense. The *Laws* of our Country require the *King* to be of the *Religion* of our Country. This is a *Qualification* without which he cannot legally *inherit the Crown*, any more than a *Subject* could *inherit a Place under the Government*, who could

not, or would not qualify himself for it according to *Law*. A legal Qualification is as necessary to the King's Title in the one Case, as it is to the Subjects Right in the other; and, if the King be justified (as most certainly he is) by *Law*, in refusing to let an unqualified Subject enjoy an Hereditary Place, the Subjects cannot be obliged to submit to an unqualified King. I affirm it again, If this Reasoning be not conclusive, then, our Constitution is no Constitution; we are not a free People, but Slaves to unlimited Power; to the absolute Will of the Prince; and all our Acts of Parliament are of no Significancy. The Reason why our Constitution requires the Prince to be of the Religion of his Country, is because it is the most valuable Blessing, and such a one as it is not to be supposed that he would preserve to his Subjects if he were of a different Religion. But, with regard to a Popish Prince, the Reason is infinitely

finitely stronger, *his Religion* obliging him to destroy ours. The *Nonjurors*, therefore, want a Capacity to *distinguish*, if they cannot see that *Religion* may be a Bar to a King's Title, for, any Thing, the mereſt *speculative Truth*, may be a Bar, if the *Constitution* makes it a *legal Disqualification*. But in this Case the *Religion* of the King is not considered as a *Religion*, *abstracted* from the *Tendency* of it, but with regard to the *Civil Consequences* of it, as it not only renders him *incapable* of governing *according to Law*, but *requires* him to govern *contrary to Law*. Upon this footing it is not necessary, to its being a *Disqualification*, that it should be *expressly mentioned* in the *Constitution*, because, in the nature of the Thing, the *Constitution* must *necessarily imply* it, as it implies every Thing that is *absolutely necessary* to its *Preservation*. This I observe, lest they should reply, that the *Constitution*, as it stood before the *Revolution*, did not,

expressly, make the *Popish Religion* a *Disqualification*. It required that a *King* should be *capable* of governing *according to Law*, and of giving *Security*, by his *Coronation Oath*, that he *would* do so, which a *Papist* cannot do, because his Religion teaches him, that he is so far from being under any *Obligation* to observe his *Oath*, in this *Case*, that it is his *Duty* to break it. And as we have all imaginable Reason to believe them to be *Papists*, they stand *excluded* by the *Constitution*, because in the *nature of Things* it is *implied* that the *Constitution* means to exclude those from *inheriting* who are not *qualified* to act *agreeably* to it. As I have before quoted one great *Chancellor* in Support of my Opinion, I have the judicious Lord *Harcourt* giving a *Sanction* to this *Doctrine*, in his *Defence of Dr. Sacheverell*; where, he observes, (in regard to that *Law* which says that the *PEOPLE have no coercive Power over the KING*) that all *general*

Laws

Laws suppose *excepted* Cases, and that those *Exceptions* justify the Subject in departing from the *general* Rule, in such Cases, as much as it *binds* to an *Obedience* to it in *ordinary* Cases. The *Constitution* has not *expressly* *excluded* a *professed* *Atheist*, but he would be, agreeably to the *Intent* and *Meaning* of it, *disqualified*, because a Person that professes *no Religion* is not able to give *Security*, by the *requisite Oath*, that he would govern *according to Law*; and, for the same Reason, no *Atheist* can be *legally qualified* to hold any *Place* under the *Government*, because he could not give a *legal Test* of his *Affection* to the *Government*. Mr. *Lock* carried his *Notions* of *Liberty* and *Toleration* as far as any body ever did, and, yet, in his *Letters* upon that Subject, he declares an *Atheist* utterly *unqualified* for *Society*, because *incapable* of giving *reasonable Security* for his good *Behaviour* in any *Article* of *Life*.

I have met with some *discreet* Jacobites who acknowledge the *Danger* of having a *Popish* Prince, but, yet, were for *trying* him, with a *Design* to turn him out again if he offered to *subvert the Constitution*. We have no *Occasion* for any farther *Experience*, because we are *absolutely certain* that if he *has* any *Religion* it obliges him to do it, and if he *has no* *Religion*, but is a *consummate Hypocrite*, we can have no *Security* that he *will*, tho' it is barely possible that he *may*, govern *legally*. If they want to perpetuate *Civil Wars*, with all their dreadful Attendants, this is a most excellent Scheme, but if they desire the *Peace*, *Tranquillity*, and *Welfare* of the Community, it is as wild a one as could be contrived.

I hope I have made this Argument so plain that any one may understand it, and so strong that nobody can answer it. And, if it be strictly conclusive, and I can farther shew that neither

ther the *Pretender*, nor his *Sons*, can give us sufficient Proof of their being *Protestants*, then his Majesty, King **GEORGE**, has an undoubted *Hereditary* Title to the Crown, as being the next in the *Protestant* Line, consequently, the *next* who is *legally* qualified to enjoy it. Now, I would ask any *Jacobite*, in his Senses, what *reasonable Assurance* the *Pretender*, or his *Sons*, can give us of their being *Protestants*. The most solemn *Protestations* and *Oaths* would be no Evidence, at all, in this Case, because it is the professed Doctrine of *Popery*, that *Hereticks* have no Right to *Truth* or *Faith*, and that *Lying* and *Perjury* are lawful when made subservient to so good an *End* as the Promotion of the *Catholick Cause*. And, as they cannot, by any Denial of their being *Papists*, satisfy us that they are not so, on the other hand we have all imaginable Reason to believe that if they have any Religion it is *Popery*, as they have, all
2
their
bad

their Lives, been conversant with, and supported by, the most *bigotted* of that Religion, who would not fail to use all their Industry and Arts to educate them in their Principles. But, I cannot learn that they *pretend* to be *Protestants*, or that the *Jacobites* believe them to be such.

I have hitherto argued with the *swearing Jacobites* upon a Supposition of their being Men that have a serious Sense of *Religion*, and are under an unhappy Conviction that the *Pretender* has a Right to the Crown. I hope I have made it appear that he has not; but, if my Arguments should not happen to convince them, let them act more *openly* and *conscientiously* for the future, and not bring Infamy upon their own Character, and a Reproach upon their *Christian* Profession, by taking *Oaths* against their Opinion. If they really believe that his Majesty, King **GEORGE**, is not the *rightful* King, either on account of his never having had

had any good Title to the Crown, or by reason of his having forfeited it by *Maladministration*, why do they *swear Allegiance* to him? If they were of Opinion that the *Pretender* is their lawful Sovereign, why had they not the *Honesty* to appear in his Defence when he ventured so boldly into the very Heart of the Country? They have neither *Conscience* enough to be *Non-jurors*, nor *Courage* enough to fight for their Master. And, yet, these *perjured Cowards* are not ashamed to *stigmatize* all those, as *Time-servers*, who act agreeably to their *Sentiments* and *Obligations*, by defending that Government to which they have sworn *Allegiance*; while they are *violating* the most *solemn Obligations*, rather than expose themselves to any *temporal Inconveniences*. This is *Time-serving*, with the most aggravated Guilt; breaking thro' the sacred Ties of *Truth, Religion, and Honour*, in a most shameful manner. There is no Breach of *Charity*

rity in supposing that Men who will temporize, in order to avoid *lesser* Hardships, will do it for the sake of avoiding *greater*. If ever the *Pretender*, or his *Son*, should get Possession of the Throne of *England*, all the *Protestants* in the Kingdom must suffer infinitely more, and worse Evils, if they mean to preserve their Integrity, than it is possible for the *Nonjurors* to do under this mild Government; and, therefore, if they be not able, *now*, to resist a Temptation so much smaller, we *may*, we *must*, reasonably presume that the Dread of *Popish Cruelties* will easily overcome their *Faith*, and induce them to be *Time-servers* by professing the *Popish Religion*. The Case of *Conscience* being thus out of the Question, we must argue with them upon their *own Principles*, of *temporal Interest*, and fairly examine whether it be not more for their *temporal Advantage* to be *Time-servers* to the *present Government* than

than to a *Popish* one. The *Disaffected* are very busy in handing about printed and written Lists of *Grievances*, that have been drawn up by the *Pretender's* Emissaries; but, before they attempt to get rid of them by *subverting the Government*, and bringing in the *Pretender*, it is well worth their while to be at some little Trouble to inform themselves of the *Maxims of Popery*, and the *Conduct of Popish Princes*. Perhaps, they may not care for *reading*, but there are many of our Countrymen that have been abroad, and can give them an Account of the State of the *Subjects* under *Popish Governments*; and, if they can find any one Kingdom in the *Christian World*, where the *Subjects*, tho' *professing* the Religion of their Country, enjoy so many Privileges, and live so happily, as the *Subjects* of this Country may do, notwithstanding the many *Grievances* that that they complain of, I dare promise them to turn *Jacobite*. Nay, as to

Liberty,

Liberty, Property, the Freedom of Speech, and of the Press, and all the common Blessings of Life, I may venture to affirm, that the People of *England* do, at *this time*, enjoy them in a greater Degree than the People of any other Nation in the whole World ; and that they could not possibly enjoy them in so great a Degree under a *Popish Prince*, even tho' they should conform to the *Popish Religion*, as they do *now*.

The Prosperity of the *Individuals* must be in Proportion to the Prosperity of the *whole* ; as a *River* cannot rise higher than its *Head*. The Happiness of the *People*, as far as it depends upon *Wealth*, will be according to the *Quantity* that is circulating in the Nation ; but if the *Pretender* should ever succeed we should soon be as *poor* as the State of *Genoa* is at present. It has been justly observed, by the Bishop of *Oxford* and *others* in their Sermons, what vast Demands would be made upon us from *Rome*, and *France*, and *Spain*,

Spain, for the Expences that they have been at in supporting and assisting him for so many Years together ; and, as he *must* have *foreign Assistance*, they would insist upon our giving up a considerable Share of our *Trade*, which is the only Source of *national Wealth*. Then, there would be annual Draughts out of the Nation to the *Pope*. As to the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, their Estates would soon feel the Effects of a *Popish Establishment*, (and a *Popish Establishment* will be the *unavoidable Consequence* of a *Popish Prince*, if he can keep himself in the Throne) for, all *Abbey Lands*, *Church Lands*, and *great Tithes*, will be resumed. Thus will the Case stand with regard to the *Riches*, or *Poverty* of the *People* ; and what they have will not be their *Property* in the manner that we now enjoy our Possessions, but be at the Mercy of the *King*, whose Will must be the *Law*. Their *Liberties* and *Lives* will, likewise, be in the same *precarious Situation*.

tion. In Comparison of the *present* Condition of the Subjects, they would be *Beggars* and *Slaves*; *SLAVES*, not only to their *Prince*, but to the *Clergy*.

This is another Circumstance that they would do well to take into their serious Consideration, the Difference between the *Power* and *Behaviour* of a *Protestant* and *Popish* Priesthood. The *Infidel*, or the *Free-thinker* may have the Liberty, in this *Protestant* Nation, of publishing his Infidelity and Scepticism in *Coffee-houses*, or in *Print*; he may deny his *Maker*, abuse his *Redeemer*, and ridicule the *Religion* of his *Country* with great Freedom; but, the *lightest* Reflection upon *God*, the *Scriptures*, the *Doctrines*, *Discipline*, and *Worship* of an *Established Church*, in a *Popish* Nation, would meet with its *Punishment*, and a very severe one, too. At *present* he may make as great a *Jest*, as he pleases, of a *Parson*, let his Abilities, Qualifications, and Merit, be

be ever so conspicuous ; he may represent him as a designing *Cheat*, let his Sincerity and Integrity in the Discharge of his Office be ever so great ; but, under a *Popish Establishment*, if the *Laity*, of the first Rank, should take such Liberties with the *Priesthood*, they would soon find that the *Clergy*, whatever they might be in other respects, were not an *insignificant Body* of Men. Let these Gentlemen consider how much *Pleasure* and *Credit* they would lose if this Freedom of the *Press* and *Conversation* should be restrained. The *Satisfaction* can be conceived only by those *happy* Persons that *feel* it. The *Credit* is so very extraordinary that it has raised many a one of slender Abilities to the Size of a *Giant* in *Parts* and *Wit*. But, besides that it would be the greatest Mortification to be silent upon such *agreeable* and *reputable* Subjects, it is great Chance but that *Vanity* would sometimes get the better of their *Prudence*,

dence, and procure them an unpleasant Apartment in the *Inquisition*. The *Temptation* being so forceable, and the *Habit* so confirmed, some *Lapses* would be almost unavoidable. The *Libertine* would be in as bad a Condition as the *Infidel* and *Freethinker*. He might *privately*, indeed, be as *vicious* as he pleases, but he must regularly come to *Confession*, and either do *Penance*, or pay handsomely to the *Father*, by way of *Commutation*; and, if a *Hogarth* were to draw one of these smart Gentlemen in a *white Sheet*, or humbly *kneeling* before his *Confessor*, and *whispering* a long Catalogue of Sins in his Ear, he would make an *humorous* Piece of it. Then, again, as to that dull Affair of going to *Church* so often, I fear, it would be a long while before they could make it *tolerable* to themselves, if *ever* they could be reconciled to it; whereas *now*, the *A&E of Parliament* notwithstanding, he may stay at Home, or go Abroad, every *Sunday*,

day, pity us *ignorant* and *bigotted* poor Creatures who are *weak* enough to think it our *Duty* to attend publick Worship, and is at full *Liberty* to employ himself in what manner he shall think fit. Tho' I cannot help *smiling* a little while I mention some of these Circumstances, they contain a great deal of *serious* Truth, and may justly be esteemed very great *Grievances*, to Persons of *their Sentiments, Inclinations, and Taste*; much greater than many of those which they object to the *present Government*. I could bring several other Things to Account, but I have inserted Articles enough to shew that the *Balance* is greatly in favour of *our Establishment*; and that it is, upon the *whole*, more eligible, even *supposing* us to be in as bad a Condition as *they* would have us believe, to live as *Protestants* under his Majesty, King **GEORGE**, than as *Popish Subjects* under a *Popish Establishment*.

But, tho' I thought it might be of Use to shew these *discontented* People that, setting aside *Conscience*, it is greatly their *Interest* to support the present Government in Opposition to the *Pretender*, or any other *Popish* Prince, yet I must in *Charity* believe that some of them retain a Sense of *Religion* and *Duty*, tho' their Conduct, in this respect, is very inconsistent with it. To these, therefore, I shall apply myself concerning their loud Complaints of *Grievances*. Not that I purpose to enter into a particular *Detail* of them, (I lately saw two *Lifts* as long as a *Catalogue of Indulgences*) my Design being only to make two or three *general Remarks*, and then instance in one or two *particular Articles* that shew a strong Spirit of *Disaffection*.—The Reader, if he so thinks fit, has my Leave to call me a *Whig*, for the Doctrine which I have advanced, *viz.* That if a *King* of *England* should, as King

King James the Second did, claim a dispensing Power, and set up his *absolute Will* as a *Law*, the People have as much Right to *resist* any such Attempt, as the King has to suppress a *Rebellion* against his *Government*. If the *Constitution* gives us *Rights* and *Privileges*, *COMMON SENSE* and *REASON* give us the Use of the *necessary Means* of preserving them. This I speak as an *Englishman*, who does not desire to outlive his *Freedom*. But, as a Clergyman of the *Church of England*, I am as fast a Friend to the *Prerogative* of the *Crown*, as I am to the *Liberty* of the *Subject*; and do not think myself licensed to *REBEL* against the *Government* for *Grievances*, tho' they should be many and great, that arise from an *improper Exercise* of a *legal Power*. The King has the Right of *Nomination* to Places of *Power* and *Trust*, and if he should nominate Persons, in our *Opinion*, not so *fit*, as some others that we might desire to

see promoted, and those Persons should not execute their Offices *faithfully* and *wisely*, such *Grievances*, as these, are not to be redressed by *Rebellion*, but by humble and respectful *Addresses* to the *Throne*, and *Petitions* to the *Parliament*, who are the *great Council* of the Nation, to give the *King* their Advice in Matters of Importance to the Welfare of the *Publick*; and I have so *well ground-ed* an Opinion of his *MAJESTY*'s *Integrit-y* and *Intention* not only to govern us *agreeably* to the *Laws* of the Land as a *free* People, but to make us a happy and flourishing Nation, that I verily believe he would have the *good Nature* patiently to hear *Remonstrances* decently made, and the *Equity*, if he judged such to be *real* *Grievances*, to do what he could to *redress* them.—Neither do I think it justifiable, for such Reasons, so industriously to spread *Discontent*, and create *Disaffection* to his *Majesty*'s *Go-vernment*, and lessen the *Regard* that is due to his Person, and necessary to the *Support*

Support of his *Crown*. Whoever attempts to lessen the Subjects *Opinion* of their Prince, so far, as he succeeds, he weakens his *Government*. Speaking evil of Dignities will, by degrees, be productive of *Sedition* and *Rebellion*. Wherefore, I am not at all surprized that the *Jacobites*, whose Design it is to *de-throne* the King, should *deprettiate* his Majesty's *personal Character*, and *as-perse* his *Conduct*, tho' even in *them* I must esteem such Behaviour *uncchristian*, *ungenerous*, and *ungentleman-like*; but, when I hear Persons, whose *Loyalty* I have no Reason to question, using coarse and vulgar Freedoms of this kind, it gives one a melancholly Idea of the Force of *Party Spleen*, and *Discontent*.

The *grand Grievance* of all, and the *Source* of most of the rest, is, the *general Corruption* in *Principle* and *Practice*, which has been long growing and spreading itself, like an *Inun-dation*, over the Land. In Proportion

as

as *Religion* flourishes, the *Community* will flourish ; and, as *Infidelity* and *Vice* prevail, the publick *Welfare* and all *social Happiness* will decline. There can be no *publick Virtue* but what is built upon *Religion* ; and, without publick *Virtue*, how is it to be expected that Men, in any Station, should act *disinterestedly* ? Take away the Belief of *religious Truths*, and you leave no other *Principle* of Action but *personal Interest* and *present Convenience*, but a *sincere Believer* has a *Motive* sufficient to induce him to prefer a *publick Good* to his own *particular Interest*, in all Cases where they interfere, because he knows that, upon the whole, in the *final Issue* of Things, it is his *real Interest* so to act. I say, therefore, that the *grand Grievance* is, the *Growth* of *Infidelity* and *Vice*. This is a *Grievance* that not only the *Throne*, the *Administration*, *subordinate Officers*, of every kind, and the *Clergy*, but all *private Members*, may help

help to *redress*; and I, every Day of my Life, earnestly beg of God to teach every one this Wisdom, and to assist him in putting it in Practice.

There is another very considerable *Grievance*, which the *Complainants* only can *redress*; I mean, the *petulant Spirit of Discontent*, which *aggravates* every Thing, and is *restless* in propagating *Uneasiness*, and by that Means *alienating* the *Affections* of his *Majesty's Subjects*. No doubt, it is right in any Man, or *Set of Men*, to oppose *destructive Measures*; this is true *Patriotism*; but, an *indiscriminate Opposition* is no better than *Faction* and *Party*. If any Man, or *Set of Men*, propose any Thing for the Good of the *Publick*, the Nation is *obliged* to him, or them; but, an *Attempt* to force their *Measures*, in a *turbulent* and *over-bearing* manner, upon the *Government*, this is *Sedition*; and does not proceed so much from *publiek Spiritedness*, as from *private Views*. The

Liberty

Liberty of the *Press* is a very valuable one, because a great Means of preserving all the rest, but, if political Writers endeavour to expose an *Administration* for every little Error in Management, or for great ones, in such a manner as to *disquiet* the Minds of the People, and render them *disaffected* to his Majesty's *Person* and *Government*, this is *Licentiousness*. As to those *popular* Acts which they expect from the *Administration*, I can only say, that I *hope* for every Thing that is *practicable*, in its *proper* Time; but, without standing in any Fear of the Charge of being a *Time-server*, I shall venture to observe, that the *Ministry* have a Right to some *Credit*, for any Thing of that kind, their Hands having been sufficiently full of other Business that was more pressing for *immediate* Dispatch; a *War* with two potent Nations; a dangerous *Rebellion* at home; *publick Credit* to be supported under all these *distressing* ^{medii} Circumstances.

stressing Circumstances ; and it would be very *unjust* not to acknowledge that their Measures have been accompanied with such a Degree of *Success* as the most *sanguine* could not, a Year ago, so much as *hope* for. At that Time every one looked upon *France* as bidding fairer for *universal Monarchy* than ever, and *ourselves* as upon the *very Brink of Ruin*. In what Situation Affairs are abroad, at present, every one knows ; and every well affected Person rejoices at the happy Change. The Storm is blown over in our own Country, and *publick Credit* has been so well supported that four *Millions* have been subscribed, at four per Cent, only, in as many Hours. May Success be their *constant*, as it will always be their *best*, Vindication.

There are two *Complaints* which in a particular manner shew the *Disaffection* of those who make them. Within this Week I have been told,

that

very

very gravely, that the *Barbarities* (as they are pleased to express themselves) of the *Royalists* towards the *Rebel Army*, at *Culloden*, and the *Executions* in *England*, have made a great many *Jacobites*. What Orders were given, on either Side, or exercised by the *King's Forces*, I know not. I give little Heed to *their Reports*; but, let that Matter be how it will, it is of no Avail in the Argument. I never before heard that a *King* could *forfeit* his *Title* to his *Crown* for putting *Rebels* to the *Sword* in the *Field of Battle*. What *Mercy* it may be *safe* to shew, on such Occasions, must be left to the *Discretion* of the *General*, but there could be no *Injustice* in the Case, because they were *fighting* against their *Sovereign*. If they perished by the *Sword*, they died *Sword in Hand*; and I can never believe that a Person of the *Duke's* known Courage, Conduct, and Generosity, would shed needless *Blood*.— That the *Executions* in *England* should

make *Jacobites*, is full as extraordinary an Event. It might furnish *Jacobites* with an Opportunity of shewing their *Disaffection*, but not give any *loyal Subject* the *Shadow* of an Argument for turning *Rebel*. The *executive Power* is in the *King*, and the *Exercise* of it *discretionary*. Does his *Majesty* lose his Right to our *Obedience* because he does not *pardon* those who are *condemned* in a regular Court of *Justice*? Part of the *legislative Power* is in the *People*, who send a *Representative* to *Parliament* to make *Laws* for them; and what would these *querulous Men* say if his *Majesty* should send a *Mandamus* to a *Borough*, requiring them to chuse such *Members* as he should *nominate* to them; or offer, by his *own Authority*, to *disfranchise* it upon a *Refusal* to obey his *Order*? Just as much Right as the *Subject* has to his *Freedom* in the one Case, the *King* has to his *Prerogative* in the other; and, as the *former*, while he keeps within the *Bounds*

Bounds of the *Law*, is accountable to nobody for the *Use* of his Freedom, so the *latter* cannot be accountable to his *Subjects* for a *legal* Exercise of any Part of his *regal* Power. I have Reason to be *confident*, and it is *universally known*, that his *Majesty*, in his natural Disposition, does not want an Inclination towards *Acts of Mercy*, and I shall be greatly pleased to *see* Mercy shewn to as many Objects as shall be thought, by his *Wisdom*, worthy of it. As I have no Right to *judge* for him, I can have no Right to *complain* if he should not always act according to *my Sentiments*; neither *can* we judge of all the *Reasons* upon which he grounds his Determinations. As a faithful *Subject*, I shall always think it my Duty to entertain as respectful Sentiments of my *Sovereign* as I possibly can; to speak of him with that Reverence which is due to *Majesty*; and to judge of his Conduct with that Candour which *Christianity* prescribes, and all *human Actions*, in the *most perfect*

perfect Men, stand in need of. As I am taught and inclined to honour my King, for the same Reason all such as he shall think worthy of *Distinction*, I shall think intitled to a suitable *Regard*; and, as to those who are intrusted with the *Administration* of publick Affairs, a candid Construction of their Actions, and proper Allowances for the Imperfection of human Wisdom and human Virtue, are as much their *Right*, as a faithful Discharge of the Trust repos'd in them is their *Duty*. Were I ever so much dissatisfied with *particular* Measures I should not think it consistent with my *Duty*, as a *Christian*, a *loyal Subject*, or a *good Member* of the Community, to be *always* complaining of *Grievances*, or to complain of *any* in such a manner as might create *Discontent* and *Disaffection*. I have formerly taken Occasion to express my Opinion upon some Points, and in such Terms as were

expressive of the strong Sense which I had, and have still, of their vast Importance; but, as I sincerely meant to serve my King and Country, in an Affair where I was satisfied that the Safety of the Throne and the Welfare of the Nation were nearly interested, so I took Care to leave no Reader in any Doubt concerning my Loyalty, or to say any thing that might alienate the Affections of others. But, above all, I have taken every Opportunity to use my utmost Endeavours to create and cultivate, in the Minds of my Countrymen, a true Sense of Religion, as it is the greatest Security that his Majesty can have for the Obedience of his Subjects, or the People, for their Rights and Privileges; for a Propriety of Behaviour of Persons in publick Stations and Offices; in Trade and Commerce; in Friendship; in every kind of Intercourse with one another. The Decay of Religion must bring on a proportionable Decay

Decay of *publick* and *private* Happiness. This it *unavoidably* does by the *necessary Tendency* of Things. But it has been farther prejudicial to us, as it has been urged, by *Papists* and *Jacobites*, as Motives to embrace their Religion, and espouse the *Cause* of the *Pretender*, *any* Religion (they say) being better than *no* Religion. I am sorry that there should be any room for the Use of this Argument, but it is *sophistical*. It is better for any Man sincerely to believe, and conscientiously to practise, the *Popish*, or *any other* Religion, than none at all, because a *sincere*, tho' *mistaken*, Faith will recommend to the Favour of God; but, as *Protestants*, and a *free People*, we are in a much better Condition, notwithstanding the *irreligious* State of the Nation, than we should be under a *Popish* Prince, let him be ever so *pious* a Man. At present, they who have any Religion have the free Enjoyment

joyment of it, together with their *Civil Rights* and *Privileges*, which we should not long enjoy under a *Popish Government*. Nay, such is the *Tendency* of their Religion, that the *more* *pious* such a Prince is, the *more* the *Freedom* of a *Protestant* People would be in Danger, and the sooner destroyed.

18 JA 53



FINIS.

40 41 42